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An English translation of
"Les navigations François, entreprises en 1629 & 1630,"
in
VOYAGES D'AFRIQUE

Written by

Jean Armand

(1637)

English translation of Jean Armand. “Les navigations François, entreprises en 1629 & 1630,” in *Voyages d'Afrique faicts par le commandement du roy, où sont contenues les navigations des François entreprises en 1629 et 1630, soubs la conduite de M. le commandeur de Razilly, ès costes occidentals des royaumes de Fez et de Marroc... / le tout recueilli et illustré de curieuses observations par Jean Armand*. (1637)

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All footnotes and [*comments*] are the translators and serve to define a word or concept, to clarify a statement, or to include additional pertinent information.

Italicized numbers is parenthesis, e.g. (*1 – 4*), located at the end of a paragraph denote the pages which the immediately preceding section came from.

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Jean Armand. *Voyages d'Afrique faicts par le commandement du roy, où sont contenues les navigations des François entreprises en 1629 et 1630, soubs la conduite de M. le commandeur de Razilly, ès costes occidentals des royaumes de Fez et de Marroc... / le tout recueilli et illustré de curieuses observations par Jean Armand*. (1637)
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It should be noted that there is disagreement on the identity of the author of this work. Some believe the inclusion of the name Jean Armand was part of Razilly’s spoken and/or written transmissions to the author while others believe the author was Armand. It has been suggested that Pierre Bergeron, the author of two similar works, may be the real author.[1]

[1] *Rothschild 1945 [V, 2, 38]*, Descriptive notice created from the Catalog of books making up the library of the late Baron James de Rothschild, volume 2, by Emile Picot. Paris: Damascène Morgand, Bookseller. 1887. Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008 URL: https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc362741

INTRODUCTION

This quirky little work is fascinating for a number of reasons, the least of which is not the dimensions of the work itself, approximately 4” by 6”. The title seems odd inasmuch as it claims to be a record of the voyages of 1629 and 1630 yet there is nary a mention of the earlier voyage. The original work is 320 pages long with the narrative of the 1630 voyage beginning on page 8 when they weigh anchor at St. Martin de Ré on the 12th of June and continuing through page 98 when they return to Bruges on the 25th of November.

From the website of the *Librarie Camille Sourget* (93 rue de Seine, Paris) comes the following description: *Jean Armand, called Mustapha, born Turkish, came to France at the beginning of the 17th century to teach foreign languages. He became converted to the Christian religion by the Cardinal Richelieu.* (Note that Richelieu’s name was Armand Jean.) *Richelieu creates a navy in 1626 appointing himself “Great Officer and Superintendent of the Navigation” and gives a great enlargement to the colonial settlements. The trade situation of French in Africa is extremely precarious at that moment. The corsairs from Salé captured many French ships and sailors and kept them in slavery. In 1629, Richelieu makes his cousin, the knight Isaac de Razilly, founder of the French colonial policy in Acadia, responsible for an expedition to Morocco. Razilly takes Jean Armand as an interpreter. The purpose of the 1629 and 1630 expeditions was the restoration of trade with the coasts of Fez and Morocco, and the negotiations for the repurchase of the French slaves. During the second expedition, the French blockaded in front of Salé until obtaining the peace and freedom for the French. The captives were finally released, the French dealers were allowed to trade freely and the Christians to practice their religion.* (https://camillesourget.com)

This work has been described as a *journal* of the voyages of 1629 and 1630 which leaves the impression that it is the daily log (*jour* = day) of the voyage. The liberal use of space-saving techniques could support this idea and, when taken together, the reader could easily envision someone jotting down a few notes at the end of the day. *But*, ….

On the penultimate page of the journal section of the work, we are informed that this is not a journal after all. In fact it was written at the request of Commander de Razilly after he returned to France. This was written from the Commanders recollections and the written records he allowed the writer to have access to which may or may not have been the entire record. We have to accept that, for his part, the author assumed those records were not later fabrications made by the Commander to justify his failure to achieve either of the two main goals of the voyage – a treaty with Marrakech and the release of the French slaves held there. Beyond this, some letters were not included, allegedly out of fear this work would be mistaken for a book of letters, but the author assures us, almost too passionately, that he has included all the pertinent information.

There are differences, mostly minor, between this account and others of the same voyage. The treaty with Salé as written herein conforms to other accounts of it with one significant difference. This is the only version which contains the second-to-last article that mentions the ships of *Morat Raïs* and *Raïs-Benerad.* In other accounts Morat Raïs is given a more significant role than that afforded by the Commander’s version.

Lastly, we are informed by the author that this work is basically a sales brochure for a lecture on the subject that is being planned. The lecture is the reason for including the length description of Morocco – its peoples, customs, religions, foods, history, and products. That section is not included with this translation.

It is not clear if the intended lecturer was the Commander or the author. It was not unusual for any person who undertook such a perilous voyage to augment their income upon their return with a series of lectures given throughout their home country. A commander would be expected to lecture before a Royal Society or in a university setting while sailor would hold forth in the local tavern or small theater.

The Commander of the 1630 voyage was Sir Isaac de Razilly. He first sailed along the coast Morocco in 1619 to investigate the possibility of establishing a French colonial venture in Morocco. He sailed as far as Mogador and would put the knowledge gained to good use. He returned in 1624 at the head of an embassy tasked with resolving problem of the theft of the Moroccan Imperial Library by a French captain. His ship was captured by Spanish privateers and while two-thirds has been lost to fire under Spain’s care, the third that remains is in the Spanish Royal Library at the Escorial Palace. The embassy was a complete failure with Razilly held in prison weighed down with chains. His freedom was regained though it cost the freedom of some of his crew.

Putting the knowledge he gained in 1619, Razilly made a suggestion in 1626 to his cousin the French Prime Minister, Cardinal Armand Jean de Richelieu, that French forces could occupy Mogador (Essaouira) and establish a base to mitigate the threats to commerce that sailed from Salé and Safi. Three years later he was the Admiral of a fleet consisting of his flagship *La Licorne*, and the ships *Saint-Louis, Catherine, Hambourg, Griffon, Sainte-Anne,* and *Saint-Jean* which departed France on 20 July 1629. The main task was to address the growing threat emanating from the port of Salé. A failed attempt on Mogador was mounted by 100 men in the *Griffon*. The bombardment of Salé, the destruction of three corsair ships, and the freeing of French slaves makes the voyage sound like a success but, in reality, the agreement of mutual military support between the Sultan and the French government was broached by Razilly who retreated from the town once the French prisoners were freed. The Imperial troops had not yet reached the city before Razilly sailed away. Razilly returned in 1630 which is the subject of this work. He failed to accomplish the main objectives and returned in 1631 when he was successful in obtaining freedom for 390 Frenchmen and signed the *Capitulations and Articles of Treaty between Salé and France* in September. Those that write he participated in the Franco-Moroccan Treaty of 1632 are giving the wrong year. After receiving a Commission in May, Razilly sailed 4 July 1632 from Auray, France in command of the *Esperance de Dieu*. He landed on the west shore of the La Hève River in Acadia (Nova Scotia) during September 1632; he unexpectedly died there in December 1635.

Voyage to Africa by command of the king, containing the French voyages in 1629 and 1630, under command of Monsieur Commander de Razilly, to the west coast of the kingdoms of Fez and Marrakech…./ all collected and illustrated with curious observations by Jean Armand.

[*The first half of the work is Commander de Razilly's account of the 1630 naval expedition; the peace treaty with the inhabitants of Salé; and the attempts to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan and free the many French held captive; the second part is a description of the aforesaid kingdoms, cities, customs, religion and the commodities of these countries which has not been translated*.]

Les navigations François, entreprises en ... 1630 The French voyage of 1630

It is not enough for King Louis to give peace to his subjects by the usual efforts received by the usual value, if, in a more fatherly way, he does not allow them to taste the fruits of his labor. He does not want his people to profit only from the goods that France produces abundantly: but in addition to assist the council of Richelieu (which one can rightly call the wise man and the faithful *Nestor* of this kingdom) he hears that the French want to add to the goods from their country, the riches which come from foreign lands. (*1 – 2*)

[*Brief description of past relations and grievances with Morocco*] (*3 – 4*)

Monsieur de Razilly having been in the command of his Majesty received the orders from Cardinal de Richelieu. He became familiar with this place five years ago. He undertook this mission [*1629*], for the second time, accompanied by Sir la Touche, carrying the flag of Vice-admiral and Sir Trillebois. These knights anchored in the bay of Salé, a town belonging to the king of Morocco, but occupied by Moors from Granada; they have fortified the place and are in revolt against their Prince.

The arrival of our soldiers, together with their resolve, spurred these rebels so much that after having been badly treated in several skirmishes, they were forced to make treaties with Commander de Razilly. He was about to enter into some accommodation with the deputies of the Emperor of Marrakech, who had gone to locate him and his ships, when he was forced by the storms and ongoing bad weather to return to France.

Three good vessels were equipped: *La Licorne*, commanded by Sir [*Isaac*] de Razilly; *La Renommée*, commanded by Sir [*Pierre*] du Challard as Vice-admiral; and Sir Palot was in command of the third, the *Sainte Jean de Luz*. They disembarked at St. Martin on 20 June 1630 and were joined by and passed many merchant ships while sailing past Spain. The winds picked up after six days of calm and they were ten leagues off Cape Finisterre on Friday July 12th. (*5 – 8*)

[*Contains details of the uneventful voyage to the African continent*]. (*9 – 10*)

On the 23rd of July we dropped anchor at Salé. On the 24th and 25th, two vessels belonging to the inhabitants and the Corsairs of Salé were captured. This forced the Members of the Divan and Governors of the city to think carefully about their defense and how to get rid of our force.

It seemed easy to them if they used the seventeen ships in their harbor; they planned to surprise us at night and to make themselves masters of the French vessels. Twice the council was assembled to discuss the plan. After having been told of the good order that

de Razilly had established on his ships and informed that they were kept under guard at night, they judged this enterprise to be as bold as it was bad; they changed their minds and concluded that it was much better for the good of their Republic to enter into some sort of accommodation with the French. This seemed the safest and the least hazardous of all the proposals that were made. It was decided to send one of their alcaïdes named Ceron, a man of consideration and of credence among them, to remonstrate for them. That in the state where comfort was preferable to effort, they would find much more advantage with the friendship of French, and that they could not gain satisfaction by their hatred.

It was necessary to enter into a confederation with them in order to obtain reciprocal commercial benefits. It was expedient to open the ports of the city as it was apropos to take care of the good of the whole community, where it is a prerequisite that individuals can freely negotiate without risking their lives or businesses.

Such freedoms would not be available to them while they fight with France. On the other hand, with peace, they would have free entry and exit of the ports to all the maritime towns of France. They will not harm or attack the allies of France either without risking their freedom to trade. It is hoped that the help they receive from the French will offset any benefit they get from attacking the country. Furthermore, such benefits will be realized so quickly that they will become accustomed to them and this will make them more likely to provide assistance to the allies of the French too.

They have previously experienced the French force at their expense. They were deprived of many of their vessels. In short, they were on the brink of suffering even greater losses by refusing to enter into negotiations. The choice the Commander gave was not one made out of fear or for any particular benefit; it was a choice that grew from his singular zeal for the truth coming from the affection he has always had for the good of the citizens and in the service to this city.

While we were in deliberations in the town, some corsairs of Salé, about twenty in all, when the winds favored them, entered the port. Monsieur du Chalard fired a few cannon shots at them; one of their captains was killed and five soldiers were wounded. This gave a sudden start to the people of the city and the pursuit of a peace treaty advanced and it was entirely resolved. We granted recognition to their people and promised to exchange hostages with them for greater assurance; there was a cessation of all acts of hostility on both sides.

On Friday the 2nd of August, Araby Garcia, one of the first Secretaries of the Divan, was sent as a hostage in exchange for one to be placed in the city on behalf of Monsieur de Razilly, in order to move business forward. This same day Morat Raïs, Admiral of the Fleet, and several captains of the city, after obtaining all the assurances they wanted, requested to come to pay tribute to Monsieur Commander de Razilly. They were brought aboard our ships where they were received honorably. After the exchange of compliments from both sides, they made protestations in the name of their Governors, that they had no greater desire than to display their affection for his Very Christian Majesty with whom they were very comfortable living in good peace and friendship. After these statements were made, Morat Raïs requested Monsieur de Razilly send him a passport in order to station one of his fortified ships at sea. As he had been very helpful, it

was granted on the condition that there would be no attacks on the French people or French ships, and no attacks on the allies of the French Crown, to a distance of several leagues off the coast of France; furthermore he agreed to protect them against all Turkish pirates, or any others no matter who they were, without exception. Under these conditions, the passport was granted. This being done, Morat Raïs and his companions returned to the city with Sir Hilary to bring a letter from the King and to remain there as a hostage during the treaty negotiations.

These began with the publication of the command to all the citizens and subjects of the Divan, to bring forward all the French slaves in their possession, to be set free in return for a ransom at a reasonable rate. They are to be delivered to those who would pay the ransom. Any who refused to comply with the order were threatened with being tracked down and severely punished. As a result of this, several English and Flemish merchants who were in traders in Salé, asked if Monsieur de Razilly would pursue a similar course for them; they also asked for passports. These were not granted, but he offered them protection and assistance if the need arose. [*Deschamps*[2] *wrote that Razilly had "all Christian slaves … delivered in the name of the King."*]

From that day until the 9th of the aforementioned month, nothing could be done, no further progress made, because of the sandbar which made exiting the harbor dangerous. But on the 9th of the month, the residents of Salé brought aboard a quantity of slaves in exchange for the delivery of some goods in proportion to the slaves they had brought; this continued until the 12th of the month when there were no more slaves presented. (*11 – 22*)

On the 15th of the same, Monsieur de Razilly assembled the council, where it was resolved to send Monsieur Palot to the harbor of Safi, to advise the King of Marrakech of the return of the vessels of the Very Christian Majesty to the coast of Africa. Said Monsieur Palot sailed that same day with three vessels crewed by the slaves who were just recently freed. Two letters from Monsieur de Razilly were entrusted to Monsieur Palot at the same time, one for the King of Marrakech, and the other for the Governor of Safi. We can best understand why they were written by reading their content. The letter from the King of Marrakech was such:

> *To the Very High &Mighty, & Very Victorious Prince Muley Abdelmelech, King of Fez, Marrakech, Sus, & Gago, Grand Sharif of Mahomet, & Emperor of Africa*
>
> *Sire,*
>
> *If the winds and the sea recognized the power of the monarchs of the earth, there is no doubt that with the vessels of the King our Majesty we would following our purpose and go to the harbor of Safi. But it is difficult (not to say impossible) to oppose the rising tides, thus we were forced to anchor in the harbor of Salé. So as to not lose all remaining time, we wanted to summon the inhabitants of the place, to return to us any French slaves they held, after paying them the redemption costs. They refused to honor the commission to acquiesce to my just demands; we announced our intent to war to them; we assailed their port and took some of*

[2] Deschamps, Léon. *Isaac de Razilly Biographie – Mémoire Inédit*. (CH Delagrave, Paris; 1887) p.11. URL: https://archive.org/

their ships. This caused them to satisfy us, and they delivered the aforementioned slaves to us which we have just taken on board. We hope to soon recover any who remain as soon as we reach the harbor at Safi. However, to save time we sent three ships under command of Monsieur Palot. He is to request a passport from your Majesty for R. Pere Rodolphe and two or three other Frenchmen so they can return the dispatch from our Majesty to your Majesty with assurances of safe travel. Since time is of the essence as we have orders to stay only a few days at Safi and winter is approaching, we very humbly beg your Majesty to send, as quickly as possible, the aforesaid passport, and to order that all the French slaves now being held in your city of Marrakech to be brought to Safi quickly. It will please Your Majesty to send such of your people as required to receive the gift that our King has sent to Your Majesty. These things are requested to prevent our business from going downhill, before the winter weather forces us to return to France without concluding anything as happened last year. From our coast we bring all the diligence that is possible for us, and we will remain … et cetera.

The letter to the Governor of Safi was couched in these terms:

Last year the bad weather forced us to leave the harbor of Safi without concluding our negotiations, much to our great regret. Our Master, the King has sent us again to negotiate with the Emperor of Marrakech, your Prince, in order to recover any French held in slavery. We are writing to his Imperial Majesty, if that it please him, to issue us a passport by means of which we can send him the said letter in complete confidence. We ask that you, by this letter, send our said letter, safely and diligently, to the Court. Especially as we hope to be in the harbor of Safi just a few days, with the help of God, during which time we hope to receive the passports that are required. We assure you, that your care, and the authority that you employ to satisfy our requests will not remain without acknowledgment; in addition the approval that we will have for you remain forever et cetera. From the roadstead of Salé, 2 August 1630.

The sandbar made it dangerous to sail out from Saturday the 17th to Tuesday, the 20th. On that day Salé sent Monsieur Monjet and Monsieur Santiago; Captain Blanco Hornal Heros as representing Caya Rios, Governor of the castle; and several Andalusians as Commissioners and Deputies to Monsieur de Razilly; who, together with Morat Raïs named above, as the appointed representatives of all the inhabitants of Salé and of the principals of the Divan, to conclude the peace negotiations. They were received as they deserved, and entered into conference where they remained a long time; they then took leave, taking with them the memoranda that Monsieur de Razily and Monsieur du Challard gave them, with a special one sent for the very good pleasure of the King. To testify that this visit had not been unpleasant, the said Monsieur de Razilly asked the Capuchin Brothers and Father Datias, accompanied by an officer, to go with the deputies of Salé to greet the Governors of the city on his behalf and that of Monsieur de Challard, and to assure them of their good will towards them. They received the gracious salutations from the aforesaid governors, who led them to the chateau with a general applause from everyone. After more compliments and ceremonies, which one usually observes at similar events, Morat Raïs ordered his residence be prepared to receive them and to provide them with anything they require for the duration of their stay. (*23 – 31*)

On the 21st of the month the Capuchin Brothers and Father Datias celebrated the Holy Mass at the home of the French merchant, Monsieur Moiet. Having been completed, they found the Governors of the city just exiting their council, where the memoirs given to them were deliberated upon. Their response was that they had ordered their Secretary to make the appropriate edits, and that it would be read out that evening. This was done. Having found some articles to be changed, they requested the Deputies leave them a copy, in order to be able to examine the whole document, and to change what seems to be necessary for the honor and service of the arms of the Most Christian King.

The 22nd day of the month, the whole document having been well considered by our people, and some additions made to the previous articles for the benefit of the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty, they put them back into the hands of the Governors of the city, and shortly thereafter we returned to our ships, leaving Monsieur Hilary behind as a hostage.

The same day Haly Blanco and Santiago came on board and brought back the articles to be approved by Monsieur de Razilly, who found he wanted to think about them. They were not in the form he wanted and he wanted to add something on the advice of Monsieur du Challard. But what we updated seemed to be to the disadvantage of the inhabitants of Salé, and the Governors refused to sign. The King judged well in that Monsieur de Razilly did not quit easily; they wanted (before declaring their reasons) to be able to maintain their safety without the need to leave their vessels under the pretext of the treaty which was in effect. Then, having achieved their will, they gave the reasons they had for not approving the above-mentioned articles, leaving affairs reduced to the same terms where they were at the beginning with the hostages having been returned by both sides. Nevertheless, as we were on the verge of ending negotiations, the treaty was renewed through the intervention of Alcaïd Ceron (who was mentioned earlier) who explained the wrong the Governors had seized on and used as a reason for refusing to sign the proposed articles.

It is the light touch that was needed for, in that way, after having persuaded them with valid reasons, that this capitulation was not so prejudicial against them as to warrant war which was already at the gates of the city; their resolve dissipated and they charged Monsieur Mazet to write to Monsieur de Razilly. To which Morat Raïs consented by signing, although openly he pretended to be contrary in order to protect the reputation of their Republic.

It was seen fit to grant the treaty for one year only, in order to give the Moors every means of pursuing trade for the rest of the year with the French merchants. They were all the more willingly to do this as they were forced to go to Safi, to deal with the Deputies of the King of Marrakech. This was the correct decision, and Monsieur du Challard remained in Salé to finish the treaty, while Monsieur de Razilly went to Safi to move the negotiations along, hoping to avoid the advancing weather that would make us return to France with our ships. To achieve these purposes the power of attorney, with ample power to act, was left to the said Monsieur du Challard enabling him to sign the articles which he judged to be for the good of the service of the King, and in fulfillment of the orders of Monsignor le Cardinal. (*32 – 38*)

The 27th of the month, Commander de Razilly sailed off to go to Safi (as he had resolved to do) and while on his way he saw a depopulated town on the coast. The circuit of its walls is as large as that of La Rochelle. There were a number of fairly well-built houses still standing with the ruins of a few Mosques, and an Arsenal very suitable for housing a number of galleys. This shows that this was once a considerable place. Even now the merchants go there to trade with the Arabs from the nearby mountains, more so if there is a good raiding voyage, as can be seen by the plan that Monsieur de Razilly made of the town. He arrived in Safi on the last day of August, where he found some Flemish and English vessels which saluted the Royal flag.

The next day, the 1st of September, Monsieur de Razilly ordered one of his officers to go on his behalf to greet the Governor of the place, and to let him know that it was he who wrote the letter for the Emperor of Marrakech. The said Governor immediately dispatched a Jew to bring Monsieur de Razilly some refreshments, and to tell him that he had not yet received had any news from the Court of the King his Master; he asked Monsieur de Razilly to write again adding that he had a courier waiting to take his dispatch there immediately. Monsieur de Razilly wrote the following letter:

> *Sire,*
>
> *I expected to find a passport from your Majesty when I arrived at Safi, since I sent three ships under the command of Monsieur Palot there for this sole purpose twenty days ago. Now having taken the advice of all the seafarers who are under my charge, I realize that I can only stay on the coasts of your M. for 15 or 20 days at the most. Especially since in a short time the weather will be so turbulent, that if the ships do not leave and return soon, they run the risk of being lost. Seventy ships were lost during the past year, and the fleet which I had the honor of commanding had several shipwrecks. This experience makes me beg your Imperial Majesty to send to Safi one of his Alcaïdes, with orders and commissions to the Governor of this city to negotiate articles of peace, as well as I have the power and commission, jointly with Monsieur du Challard, to negotiate and agree to all necessary issues in this matter. I also ask you very humbly to make sure that all the French slaves arrive in this town at the same time so that their freedom can be obtained. For my own part, I will place the presents which the King my Majesty sent to your Majesty into the hands of the Alcaïdes, which you will please order for this purpose. Besides, I am very sorry that the season presses upon me so closely, and does not allow me to stay longer on these coasts. But you know, Sire, that the sea has no regard for the will of seafarers. This will not prevent it from being, I do not endeavor to render any kind of service to V.M. as from now on I offer him all the vessels I have under my charge, from the King my Majesty; besides I beg you to believe, that for my part, I desire to devote all my life et cetera.*

In the same way, Monsieur de Razilly wrote to the slaves of Marrakech a response for their correspondence he received from them on his arrival, exhorting them above all to serve God, and to have confidence in his mercy, which would not allow that they were always in such a miserable state, as was the one to which they were reduced to for the present. As for him, he would spare nothing that he judged necessary to gain their

freedom he so desired. He also responded by letter to the Jewish Monsieur Pallache, who the King of Marrakech employed in the conduct of this negotiation. (*39 – 45*)

Saturday, the seventh of the said month of September, Monsieur du Challard arrived in the roadstead[3] of Safi where he saluted the [*French*] flag; he went to find Commander de Razilly to whom he reported the successful negotiation of a treaty with the inhabitants of Salé; and gave him the capitulations granted with them, together with a commission for a French Consul, now held by Monsieur Mazet, until the King & Monsignor le Cardinal have provided for otherwise. Here is the content of the articles of the said capitulation.

The Very Illustrious Commander de Razilly, First Captain of the Admiralty of France, Chief of the squadron of ships of the Most Christian King of the Province of Brittany, and Admiral of the Fleet which is at present at anchor in the roadstead of Salé; and Monsieur du Challard, Governor of Cordoüan and Vice-Admiral of the said fleet under orders of Monsignor Cardinal Richelieu, Grand Master, Chief, and Superintendent of navigation and commerce of France, in the name of the Very-powerful, Very-Christian, and Invincible King of France and Navarre Louis XIII by name, and by virtue of the commission of His Majesty given to said Monsieur de Razilly, of the first part; and the Illustrious Achmet Ben-haly Bexel, Abdala Ben-haly Caleris Captains, and Governors of the castle and city of Salé and other places of their jurisdiction, for the Majesty of Muley Bufmasquan Abdelmelech, Emperor of Marrakech, King of Fez, Sous & Rassies, Lord of the Province of Dra and Guinea on the second part, for them and in the name of the inhabitants of the said castle and city of Salé, of the agreement, advise, and consent of the Members of their Divan and assembly. Have said/agreed.

As it is that formerly between the Kingdoms of France and Africa there was peace and good friendship, which recently (for certain reasons and occasions which at various times have offered themselves) had been interrupted; now with the advice and reciprocal consent of the parties, to remedy in some way the losses and damages caused by the war between these two nations, and to obviate those which may come to pass, have been granted, established, and agreed to the following articles and capitulations for the time and term of 2 years; to be effective from the day and date signed.

First, that if some vessels of the port of Salé have taken any French vessels since the third of August last, until the 24th of the same month, the inhabitants of Salé will be obliged to return them with the goods and persons who were in the vessels when taken without subtracting anything; and this in accordance with the act which the same day was made in the Divan at the request of the Captain of Father Hylari, without the owners of the vessels of Salé being able to ask, or claim any right to additional compensation. These conditions will be similarly held and obligated, and will be executed on the vessels of his Most Christian Majesty, and all the subjects of the Kingdom of France from place to place.

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[3] *Roadstead*: a sheltered, offshore anchorage area for ships.

That during the time and space of the two years (during which the said truce must last) no army, nor vessels of the King of France or his subjects may make war, or exercise an act of hostility against the aforementioned castle and town of Salé, its inhabitants, or cities under its jurisdiction; not even against any vessel which is recognized to be of the said port, which it will not be possible for them to molest in any place, or in any way whatsoever, nor to take from it by force any thing, either captive, or object whether on the sea or on land.

That the vessels of Her Most Christian Majesty and all her subjects will be able to come to the port of Salé with confidence, enter over the sandbar, provide themselves with all that will be necessary for them (either food or other provisions which will be delivered to them at a moderate price) and withdraw when they see fit, without anyone offending or hindering them.

Likewise, that the merchants of the Kingdom of France will be able freely and without danger to come to said port of Salé with their ships and goods and to negotiate there with all security and satisfaction as in the land of friends, while paying the usual customs duties.

And if it happens (God forbid) that the aforementioned vessels come to run aground on the bar, at the entrance or exit of the said port of Salé, or to run aground at any place under its jurisdiction the inhabitants of the said place will be obliged to render them aid and assistance, and to insure the goods, persons, ammunition, and all other things belonging to these vessels, without claiming any right. And the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty will have the same obligation in his ports and on the coasts to the vessels from the said port of Salé.

That if any vessel from Algiers, Tunis, or from somewhere else whatsoever brought to the port of Salé holds French Christians, or their goods, and are put up for sale, or if they wanted to give them to the inhabitants of that place, they would be obliged to stop it, and not consent to the sale. And if by other means some Frenchman were taken, either by sea, or by land, to the aforesaid place of Salé, we will be bound to give him passage, sending him back to France on some vessel provided that he is not an enemy.

That if the vessels in the said port of Salé take someone from the enemy vessels, and that in the vessel is a French person or is a regnicole[4] *as being of the said Kingdom, those of this place will be obliged to free him, and to return all the goods that belong to him that are seen, to him.*

That henceforth in said castle and town of Salé there will be a Consul of the French nation by appointment of the Illustrious Cardinal de Richelieu, which Consul will enjoy the freedoms and preeminence of which the other French Consuls are accustomed to have. And the said Consul will be allowed the free exercise of the Catholic Religion with all those of his nation. In addition, the aforesaid Consul will be held to be able to follow at his expense the lawsuits which will be brought between the vessels of France and the port of Salé, until the

[4] *Regnicole:* as meant here, a resident of Salé who is a French citizen.

end of the case. And the same obligations will be afforded to the one who will make his residence in the Kingdom of France from the said place of Salé.

That if any vessel of the Kingdom of France carries goods belonging to the enemies of said Salé, they will be confiscated every time they come under the power of ships of said place, of which they will be obliged to free the Frenchmen and regnicoles of France with their goods, and return the ship to them, paying for the freight anyway. The French will similarly keep the same regulations for Salé's vessels.

That all the vessels of the port of Salé, whether during war, as merchants, without commission, or license from the Divan, may go to all the islands and ports of the Kingdom of France, and its Lordships, and provide it with all kinds of food, and other necessary things which will be given to them at moderate cost. And the merchants will be able to sell, and buy the goods as they see fit, as it is done in the land of friends, without anyone molesting them, or facing any hindrance after they have paid the duties and customs.

That no vessel of Salé will take any enemy vessel in the ports and roadsteads of France.

That if the vessels of the said place of Salé have taken some French vessels since the 24th of August last (on which day the hostages were returned on both sides, and the effect of the truce ceased) until today the 3rd of September, the release of those taken will be reciprocally declared to be completely done. But that what will be taken from the said 3rd day of September until the end of the truce (which must last two years) will be returned and restored in the form mentioned above in the capitulation; this will be done on both sides.

That his Very-Christian Majesty will be bound to command, that the Andalusians and Moors taken in the patache of Raïs-Benerad in Levant, and those in the caravelle[5] of Morat Raïs, be returned and set free.

And thus the articles of the said treaty and capitulations were concluded and stipulated. During the time of which, if anything is offered for the good and convenience of the two unfulfilled parties not specified above, it will be represented, received and accommodated. Both of the said parties promise to hold firm, stable and inviolable that above, without anyone infringing on it in any way, at any time, or on any occasion whatsoever. On the contrary, it is wanted that the Raïs, Captain, or any other who will be shown as having violated the terms will be rigorously chastised. As thus stated, it is thus promised, granted, and signed by the parties at the Castle and in the roadstead of Salé this 3rd day of the month of September 1630 on behalf of the Christians, by du Challard in the name of Monsieur de Razilly; and by Achmet Ben-Haly Bexel, and Abdala Ben-Haly Calleris, who initials it in Arabic, in front of me Mehemet Blanco Escrivano.

The commission for the creation of Consul was such.

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[5] *Patache:* a light and shallow draft, two-masted sailing ship; *caravelle:* a ship having a main and mizzen-mast with lanteen-rigged sails for ocean sailing; *Levant* refers to the east coast of Spain.

Isaac de Razilly, knight of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem[6]*, First Captain of the Admiralty of France, chief of the squadron of ships of the King in the Province of Brittany, and Admiral of the fleet of the Majesty to the Barbary Coast, et cetera to Monsieur Pierre Mazet, French merchant and native of the city of Marseille.*

It being necessary for the good of the service to the King our Master, for the assurance and freedom of each and every one of his subjects trafficking in the port and city of Salé, the fortresses and places of its jurisdiction on the African coast (in consequence of the articles of the treaty granted by and to us in the name of His Very Christian Majesty, to the Governors, and Divan of Salé for the time and space of the next two years and consecutively, starting from the first of this month of September) to appoint, and leave in said place of Salé a faithful character who is capable of exercising the office of Consul of the nation of France, and practicing the duties of and attributed to said Consulate, expected by his Majesty, and the with appointment of Monsignor the Illustrious Cardinal de Richelieu as otherwise provided.

We being informed of your prudence, probity, morals, and Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion and furthermore ascertained your prudence, fidelity, ability, experience, and perfect intelligence of the facts of negotiation and commerce: by virtue of the provision to us by his Majesty and the word of the Cardinal, and by his good pleasure, you have commissioned as deputy. Let us commit and deputize you by these words in the said office of Consul of the Nation of France to Salé, to have the direction, protection, negotiation, and administration of justice to the French merchants who will trade in said place and places of its jurisdiction together for the enjoyment and worth of the said office of Consul, and accorded all the honors, privileges, precedence, franchises, exemptions, rights and freedoms, which others enjoy and had to enjoy as French Consuls in all other ports of Barbary, and the Levant, as it is so stated in the aforesaid treaty.

You will execute these rights and prerogatives you hold in your hands very carefully, opposing all infringements and impediments, which could be made now or on in to the future. That you take good and ample minutes on the occurrences which will present themselves, which you will send from month to month (if possible) to the Lord Cardinal in accordance with the addresses which have been given to you, to be provided as well as it will be required.

Done in the harbor of Salé in the King's vessel le Renommée, this 3rd of September 1630.

Signed du Challard in the name of Monsieur le Chevalier de Razilly. (*45 – 66*)

Thursday, the 11th of September, the council met onboard the ship of Commander de Razilly, in order to offer advice on what one would consider more expedient and necessary, considering the annoying lengths and delays of the King of Marrakech: and whether Monsieur Palot should return to France with some of the slaves that had been delivered, this out of fear of the approaching inclement weather and loss of vessels that

[6] *Knight of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*: also known as the *Knights Hospitaller*.

may not be able to withstand the anticipated rough seas. These are the terms of the deliberation.

On the11th of September after having assembled onboard the King's ship *La Licorne* all the Captains, and officers who are under our charge on the coast of Africa, we told them: that the King of Marrakech having kept us in doubt of his wishes for a long time and having no response to the letters sent by us: and that by our alliances at Salé, we redeemed slaves that we were now in charge of, as well as ships that we took (which, being poorly furnished with cables, anchors and the necessary ropes, did not know how they could stay in this harbor when the winter was approaching, and the said vessels were not in a condition to sustain the fury of the sea) it would not be out of place to send back said vessels, with the slaves that were redeemed by us following the negotiations of Monsieur Palot. We have decided that the aforesaid Monsieur Palot (immediately if the wind allows) will take the route of the crossing to France with the aforesaid captured ships, for them and their men to fish and head to La Rochelle, or Bruges, following the order and commendation given to us by Monsignor le Cardinal. This we told them, and had it signed by the said captains in the harbor of Safi, the day and year above: Sir de Razilly, knight; du Challard; Monsieur Palot; *et cetera*. (*66 – 70*)

The 12th of the month, after the departure of the aforementioned ships, the onshore winds forced the rest to set sail and spread out along the perilous coast. This continued until Tuesday 17th when they were able to return to harbor, where they were greeted with great impatience. There was a rumor of the imminent arrival of the slaves, since the Governor of Safi dispatched an English vessel to make contact with Monsieur de Razilly to give him the letters which were sent by the French slaves being detained in Marrakech. This rumor was false however; this gave the said de Razilly the opportunity (who was angered after dropping anchor in the harbor upon learning the rumor was false) to send a shallop[7] with the command to those onboard to travel overland to learn the truth. Upon their return, they reported the opposite of what they had been told to expect, so Monsieur de Razilly thought it good to write the following letter to the Governor: (*70 – 71*)

> *Sir,*
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> *Upon my return to this harbor, I have been informed the French slaves have already arrived in Safi, but the letters which they have written to me, and which I have received through your actions, bear witness to the contrary. I do not know what injustice must be the base of so much uncertainty, even though I do not hear any news of the Emperor's intentions concerning the freedom of the said slaves. This is why I beg you to clarify the state of our affairs so that I may dispose of myself in the retreat, to which I am more forced by the appearance of bad weather, than by my own will. On this I kiss your hands, and am, et cetera.*

With great difficulty the bearer of this letter was on the way, when the Governor sent back a Jew named Judas Levy (who is in charge of the affairs of the sea and commerce) with the very express command to have Monsieur de Razilly understand that the King of Marrakech his master, has good intentions and to thus dissuade him from returning to France; the Jew was threatened with decapitation if he failed. This Jew boarded our ship

[7] *Shallop*: small ship about 20 to 30 feet in length with one or two sail used for navigating along the coast.

and executed his mission directly, bringing letters from the Governor and from the Jew Pallache, who was the main middleman in the negotiations and who was mentioned above, to Monsieur de Razilly.

The 18th of September: Monsieur de Razilly with the assurances and protestations from the Governor of Safi, and the Jew who had been sent to him, was persuaded by the oaths of those barbarians who feared his departure; he resolved to send the letter to the King of Marrakech, which his Most Christian Majesty wrote to him. For these purposes the letter and envelop was wrapped in precious fabrics (as is the custom of the country) and addressed to the Governor of Safi, who is at the same time to set off with the principal Knights of the city to bring it to Court with all the ceremonial required: and by the same trip, the aforesaid Monsieur de Razilly wrote for the third time the following letter to the same Emperor of Marrakech, thinking to force him by this means to reply.

> *Sir,*
>
> *Enclosed is the letter from the King, my master, to your Majesty, which I would have liked to carry by myself, in order to have the favor of being able to kiss your hands. But all the more so as the orders that I have forbid me to leave the vessels which I have the honor to command. I am sorry that this command requires me to deny the means of seeing the fulfillment of my desires at this time. I have sent four ships of my fleet back to France, having wished to remain a few more days in your harbor of Safi with Monsieur du Challard, only in order to wait to hear the decision of your Majesty at last. The hope is that you have procured the freedom of the French slaves, and have given orders that they be brought here, where we await them; and also that he has given his proxy to one of his Alcaïdes, to treat and conclude the articles of good peace, and to receive the present that the King my master send him. I am sorry that the approaching winter season requires me to return to France so early. But since all human forces are too weak to withstand the rigors of time, your Imperial Majesty will excuse me for praying to him (as I do very humbly); I ask him to hold this letter to my account. Majesty, I will wait for a few more days, hoping to receive the favor of a response from your Majesty, if you would do me much favor as to believe me, et cetera.*

Thursday, 3rd of October: a ship belonging to Monsieur Chalot went to the Isle of Mogador (located in the coasts of Hea, province of the Kingdom of Morocco) to clean and repair a leak which made it susceptible to being swamped, and returned to the harbor of Safi. That same day, the Governor of the city forwarded two letters for Monsieur de Razilly, one from Paul Imberte, pilot and the other from Guiton, both who were being held as slaves in Marrakech.

The receipt of these letters, which were compassionately written so as to move Monsieur de Razilly, requested that he effect the release of the French slaves in Marrakech; this made it clear that this business was far from reaching any conclusion, and that the voices of reason would not be sufficient against these Mahometans, enemies of everything honest. Briefly, they stated: that the King thought of nothing less than granting freedom to the French slaves, and, in fact, he kept them under a more strict surveillance than usual; he treated them with more cruelty than ever, in particular the aforesaid Guiton; and that we were pestered every day to renounce the Christian faith. That nonetheless, in

order to have some specious pretext in order to keep them, we know he spread the rumor, that the King of Marrakech used these French as his servants, and that in this, he had put them in charge as masters in his house. However, these rumors were all lies and falsehoods. That all these machinations were nothing but inventions and ruses, which the Barbarians mischievously used to deaden the courage of the Frenchmen, and to stop them from doing any harm that they could easily cause to befall the Moors their own country, from here. The principal Ministers and Officers of the Kingdom do not want Peace if, for that consideration (even if there were no other stronger ones) none would relinquish their slaves except by force because they believe that the French are only here to free their enslaved countrymen and return. Nonetheless, fear compelled them to hide these thoughts, thus pretending to want to negotiate a treaty. They intend to drag these negotiations out so that the bad weather takes the French on the Barbary Coast by surprise, and that they will find themselves exposed to the danger of getting lost and falling into the hands of their enemies.

On the same day that these letters were placed in the hands of Monsieur de Razilly, our people took a vessel of around two hundred tons from the port belonging to a Jewish merchant, and loaded with several commodities found to be that of several associated Jews. (*72 – 82*)

Friday, the 11th of October: the bad weather arrived and a contrary wind rose up; the fleet labored to get away from the coast and escape to the open sea but, after having tried to escape the coast for several hours, some was forced to drop anchor near a cape, where the wind and the tidal currents almost swamped the ships. So, many of the vessels endured the hazardous weather while at their moorings and in great danger of being wrecked. That same day it was decided to set sail for France, as so much of the mission lay beyond any hope of being resolved and also the danger that there was by staying in the roadstead was increasing. But the Jews, wanting to recover the vessel which they had lost, risked some of their faction by taking a small ship to us. They shamelessly assured us that the King of Marrakech had made all the slaves leave on the 9th of the current month, and they swore on the infallibility of their word, the slaves would arrive in Safi that same day (which as we said was the 11th) or the next morning at the latest.

That is why on the 12th of the month Commander de Razilly, seeing the bad weather continuing, set to sail to remove the ships from the perilous position they were in, and by tacking back and forth was able to drop anchor in deep water offshore, as he decided to wait longer for the news of success to be brought to him. But not receiving any news, there was not the slightest appearance of being able to conclude anything he wanted with the King of Marrakech (who was preoccupied with other thoughts) he was quite ready to return to France. Nevertheless before sailing, he wanted to write both to the Governor of Safi and to the slaves held in Marrakech. (*82 – 85*)

In the letter written to the Governor, he complained of the little fruit he obtained from his long and painful journey, and of the little satisfaction he obtained from a two-month stay in the harbor of Safi, trying to conclude an honorable peace with the King of Marrakech, that would have been advantageous to all his subjects. He recalled, moreover, that the alliance and confederation of the Kings of France has always been sought by the greatest Princes of the earth. He was astonished that the subject did not interest the King of Marrakech enough and that he could not persuade him to act; perhaps the King of

Marrakech forgot his responsibilities on this point, or to discount the sincere intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, or that he despised this friendship which so many others sought. Potentates feel favored and protected, and have no greater contentment than seeing their people prosper. Now he believed that the ears of the King to have been counseled with some bad advice that appeared to him to be totally contrary to the good of his state. When he finally recognizes this, he will regret it in his soul for having lost such a fine opportunity, one which deserved to be embraced rather than neglected. At the end of the letter, he thanked the Governor for the trouble he had taken to make these negotiations successful, begging the rest to continue the affection he had shown up to now: either by procuring better treatment of the slaves or by telling the King his Master of all that transpired during the conduct of this business. With this letter Monsieur de Razilly wanted (to make it more pleasant and persuasive) to attach a present of twelve fine pieces of Cambric cloth, which the Governor willingly received with only a verbal acknowledgement; he gave it to the care of one of his servants who was to thank the said Knight, Monsieur de Razilly for him; and to assure him that, for his part, they were very sorry not to have served him more usefully, and that he would be very happy at any time to give him a testament to his good will. He recalled what was recommended to him in writing, and would strive to have the King extend the negotiation despite the peculiarities and circumstances this time. The said King his Master had left the care of his people, to resume the training of the police and administer the affairs of the Kingdom, which he seemed to have quite forgot, and he should give these matters the same attention that he does to the dances, feasts, and celebrations, which usually follow the solemnities of a Royal wedding. (*85 – 90*)

The letter written to the slaves contained the reason for the departure of the French ships from the African coast to return to France, with the said Monsieur de Razilly being in great distress for not being able gain the release of the slaves this time. That he had desired this deliverance with great passion, and that this was the sole consideration that had kept him in the harbor of Safi near two months, not without great danger, and against all the reason and experience of the navy. And since bad weather forced him to leave them without having fulfilled his wishes, he exhorted them to patience and constancy. To patience, so as to suffer (without murmuring against the decrees of Heaven) the inconveniences of their slavery; to constancy, so that they remain firm and resolute in the Catholic religion. In the fear of torment, the sweetness of promises easily shakes their soul and bankrupts their belief. He further exhorted them to put their principal confidence in God, and seek the remedy of their afflictions in their assiduous prayers, where they could find much consolation to destroy there the salt in their wounds. In conclusion, he gave them assurances of his quick return, and promises their freedom whether through pleading or by force.

Thus being done, and the departure of the vessels not being able to be further delayed, Monsieur de Razilly assembled the council who consented to leave the coasts of Africa, a longer sojourn being very hazardous and preventable.

The resolution on the prize that was taken was found to be good to put it down in writing to give it strength. (*90 – 93*)

> *Today, the 12th day of the month of October 1630. The Chevalier de Razilly, first Captain of the Admiralty of France, squadron leader, et cetera, in the presence of*

the Capuchin Fathers called for the naval council to be assembled so as to jointly advise them, with Monsieur du Challard vice-Admiral of the aforesaid fleet, of what would be necessary for the service to the King, and the fulfillment of the orders prescribed by Monsignor le Cardinal de Richelieu. Where it was said that the aforementioned fleet had arrived at the coast of Africa and the harbor of the city of Safi a long time ago, from where the King of Marrakech had been sent letters several times, even the dispatch of His Most-Christian Majesty had been sent, without having received any response for two and a half months, during this time, they were unnecessarily watched. For these aforementioned considerations, and for the fact that, moreover, the excessive torments (caused by the winds which ordinarily control these coasts from the beginning of October and the Festival of Saint Francis) rendering the anchorage of the ships, as they are, full of danger and chance. Therefore, it was resolved by mutual agreement at the said council, that the ships will hoist anchor, head out to sea, and make the crossing to France, trying to gain the safe return of all of them, to either La Rochelle or Bruges.

Made in the harbor of Safi, the day and year above.

Signed Monsieurs de Razilly and du Challard.

And on the same day of the said month and year, a favorable wind occurred; we (according to the advice and resolution mentioned above) put the sails to the wind to make our way to France, and in order to avoid the loss of the ships. Which things we have judged appropriate for the service of the King and the fulfillment of the orders of Monsignor the Cardinal *et cetera*.

We weighed anchor on the 12th of October and were accompanied by such a favorable wind, that on the last day of October Monsieur de Razilly found himself at Belle-Isle, situated off the coast of Brittany, at six leagues from shore, and about ten leagues distant from Hennebont and Kimperlé. On the evening of the same day a storm arose which lasted well 48 hours, after which (the sea was restored) we fully recognized the aforementioned Isle, near which they discovered a patache of S. Sebastian armed for war which hunted for merchant ships, which was happily disposed to the flag of his Majesty.

Monsieur de Razilly (after being refreshed at Belle-Isle) left on November 23rd and on the same day anchored in the harbor of the Isle de Ré, which he departed on November 25th of the same month to go to Bruges, following the command he had from his Majesty and the order received from Monsignor le Cardinal, to give a faithful account of his five month long voyage which lasted from June 20th to November 25th. (*93 – 99*)

Here is the succinct (like my lecture) and true story of this voyage from the recall of Monsieur de Razilly which was given to me, although not with the order that I gave him for this particular satisfaction. I assure you that the nature of things, the truth of occurrences, or the circumstances surrounding the treaties which resulted from them were not altered by my hand. The words alone have acquired only minor changes, having endeavored to present them to you with as much politeness as my mind and subject will allow. I have left off many letters from this narrative in order that you do not mistake this book for a collection of letters instead of the journal of a voyage. You have no cause to consider it less complete because I have not included the letters in their original form; I have not deprived you in the least of their matter. In a word, you will meet there the same

fabric without make-up or disguise, having only the phrase and the connection of the piece which are little different from the original. Which I would not have touched at all, if I had not at the same time believed that it would please and satisfy your curiosity, to rework a work that was rough as it was written during the voyage (so to say) to serve only as a journal which failed to achieve the required perfection; it was under the wise leadership of whom this journey was undertaken, wishing to show more carefulness to do well than to speak with elegance.

Now all the more so as the other trips given to the public by the authors of these, in addition to the exploits and adventures of the entrepreneurs, still include the descriptions of the places both in general and in particular, the most remarkable singularities that one discovers there, the ways of the residents and their religion and the commodities of the country; and that nevertheless there is nothing similar in this one: I thought, that by making up for this defect by my labor, I could claim to curious minds a laudable desire to know that there is something beautiful and remarkable outside their homeland, prompting them to spend a few hours of leisure in reading the books. This reason alone gave me the will to join to the preceding narration a summary and shortened treatise on the Kingdoms of Fez and Marrakech (principal portions of Africa) as methodically as possible by me; hoping that it will shed a little light, both for the understanding of this last voyage the French made and for those who claim to make in the future. Those who are knowledgeable in geography, if they can learn nothing new from it, at the very least will find there something to strengthen and confirm their memory, by rereading the names of the places of which they have knowledge, and the others will perhaps find there some remark that instructs or satisfies them. This piece owes a debt to the observations of Armand Mustapha, of the Turkish nation, who lived among and observed the Moors for a long time, and continued his life after converting to the Catholic Religion, by teaching foreign languages in this city of Paris, and, like an eyeglass, is able to pierce their many-layered writings. I can not deny, however, that books and their authors, both ancient and modern, have contributed more to this same end, as any man of understanding will be able to see, if he wants to take the trouble to look at this little work and read it carefully. So now let's get to the point, and without having fun making a long preface, let's start treating on what we have undertaken. (*99 – 105*)